

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 101938  
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07  
NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 NSC-05  
DODE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /058 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM:JHHAWES  
APPROVED BY EUR:JGLOWENSTEIN  
S/P:PKAPLAN  
PM:JYOCHELSON  
NSC:RHUNTER  
NSC:HOWEN  
OSD/ISA:MGLITMAN  
S/S:MR. SHANKLE

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O 042255Z MAY 77  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 101938

HOLD FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, NAC

SUBJECT: NATO SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE: US PROPOSALS

REF: USNATO 2665 DTG 041219Z MAY 77

1. MISSION MAY NOW CONFIRM US LANGUAGE ON PROPOSED  
INITIATIVES, AND INDICATE THAT MAIN THEMES OF THE  
PRESIDENT'S SPEECH WILL BE ALONG LINES DISCUSSED IN  
WASHINGTON, INCLUDING PROPOSALS FOR A DEFENSE PROGRAM,  
A DIALOGUE ON DEFENSE EQUIPMENT WHEN THE EUROPEANS ARE  
READY FOR IT, AND AN EAST-WEST ASSESSMENT.

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2. WITH REGARD TO REFERENCES IN COMMUNIQUE TO US PROPOSALS,  
IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT SUBSTANCE OF THREE PROPOSALS BE  
PRESERVED. THESE INITIATIVES, WHICH WILL BE PUT FORWARD  
IN PRESIDENT'S SPEECH, ARE BASED ON INTENSIVE HIGH-LEVEL  
CONSULTATION WITH THE ALLIES, IN WHICH THEY RECEIVED  
BROAD FAVORABLE REACTION. THEY DO NOT INCLUDE THE TWO

PROPOSALS FOR WHICH THERE WAS NOT ADEQUATE SUPPORT, I.E. THE INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY PANEL ON DEFENSE EQUIPMENT AND THE NATO POLICY STAFF. WHILE WE ARE PREPARED TO WORK WITH THE ALLIES ON DETAILED COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE SETTING FORTH THESE INITIATIVES, WE ARE WORKING ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT WE ALREADY HAVE SUBSTANTIVE AGREEMENT TO THEIR

INCLUSION. MISSION SHOULD REFLECT ABOVE POINTS APPROPRIATELY IN DISCUSSING COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE IN SPC.

3. SPECIFICALLY, WITH REGARD TO FRENCH COMMENT ON FIRST SENTENCE OF DEFENSE COOPERATION SECTION, WE NOTE TIME'S STATEMENT THAT THIS IS A POSITION STATED PURELY FOR THE RECORD. FRENCH NON-PARTICIPATION IN DEFENSE AFFAIRS IS OF COURSE A MATTER OF FRENCH DECISION, BUT CANNOT PRECLUDE THE OTHER ALLIES FROM DEALING WITH VITAL MATTERS. WE ASSUME FROM REFTEL THAT OTHER ALLIES WOULD FULLY SHARE OUR VIEW THAT NATO DEFENSE PROGRAM IS ESSENTIAL SUBJECT FOR HEADS OF STATE/GOVERNMENT TO DEAL WITH.

4. WITH REGARD TO FRENCH PROPOSALS ON DEFENSE EQUIPMENT SENTENCES, WE BELIEVE THAT SOME OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE CAN BE ACCOMMODATED IN THE US DRAFT TO PRODUCE A JOINT TEXT WHICH WOULD PRESERVE OUR EMPHASIS ON ENHANCED COOPERATION WHILE AFFIRMING NEED TO STRENGTHEN EUROPEAN INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL CAPABILITIES. WE OF COURSE SHARE GOAL OF ENHANCED EUROPEAN DEFENSE INDUSTRIAL CAPABILITY, AND OUR DRAFT SUGGESTED TRANSATLANTIC AND EUROPEAN COOPERATION BE BUILT UPON EXISTING EFFORTS OF ALLIES, WHICH WAS IN-CONFIDENTIAL

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TENDED AS REFERENCE TO EPG. A COMBINED TEXT MIGHT READ: THE ALLIED LEADERS ARE DETERMINED TO WORK MORE CLOSELY TOGETHER ON RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, PRODUCTION, AND PROCUREMENT OF DEFENSE EQUIPMENT FOR USE BY ALLIED STATES, AND TO PROMOTE A GENUINE TWO-WAY STREET IN DEFENSE TRADE BETWEEN NORTH AMERICA AND EUROPE. THEIR AIM IS TO ACHIEVE THE MOST EFFECTIVE USE OF AVAILABLE RESOURCES, AND TO PRESERVE AND PROMOTE IN EUROPE AS WELL AS IN NORTH AMERICA A STRONG INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL CAPABILITY, WHICH IS ESSENTIAL FOR COLLECTIVE DEFENSE. THE MEANS OF DEEPENING THIS ALLIED COOPERATION, BOTH WITHIN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA, SHOULD BE REVIEWED IN APPROPRIATE FORUMS, WHILE BUILDING ON THE ACTIONS OF MEMBER STATES ALREADY BEING TAKEN IN THIS FIELD. (FYI: WE STRONGLY HOPE THAT ADDITION OF LANGUAGE REFERRING TO A TWO-WAY STREET, IN ADDITION TO ACCEPTANCE OF KEY FRENCH SENTENCE, WOULD ENABLE ALLIES TO AGREE ON THIS ITEM. END FYI.)

5. WITH REGARD TO EAST-WEST ASSESSMENT, WE FIND FRENCH

FORMULATION BASICALLY ACCEPTABLE AS ULTIMATE FALLBACK. WE WOULD, HOWEVER, MUCH PREFER COMPROMISE ALONG LINES SUGGESTED BY UK INCLUDING REF TO "FRESH STUDY". THIS WOULD THEN READ, BASED ON FRENCH DRAFT: "WITH THIS IN VIEW, THE ALLIED LEADERS REQUESTED THE COUNCIL IN PERMANENT SESSION TO UNDERTAKE A FRESH STUDY IN DEPTH OF LONG-TERM TRENDS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND TO ASSESS THE IMPLICATIONS OF THESE TRENDS FOR THE ROLE OF THE ALLIANCE."

6. WITH REGARD TO CANADIAN SUGGESTIONS, WE BELIEVE "DEVELOP" REFLECTS DEFENSE PROGRAM TASK MORE ACCURATELY THAN "INITIATE", ALTHOUGH IF PRESSED WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO AGREE TO INCLUSION OF BOTH WORDS. IT APPEARS FROM IS TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE RESULTING FROM MAY 3 SPC SESSION THAT SENTENCES ON DEFENSE PROGRAM AND DEFENSE EQUIPMENT HAVE ALREADY BEEN REVERSED, AS CANADIAN SUGGESTED PRIVATELY; WE DO NOT FEEL STRONGLY ABOUT ORDER, ALTHOUGH WE FELT CONFIDENTIAL

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LOGICALLY DEFENSE PROGRAM CAME FIRST. WE HAVE ADDED "RESEARCH" TO DEFENSE EQUIPMENT TEXT IN PARA FOUR ABOVE. WE THINK "AMONG ALL MEMBERS OF ALLIANCE" WOULD BE LESS DESIRABLE THAN OUR FORMULATION, SINCE WE SPECIFICALLY WANT TO UNDERLINE TRANSATLANTIC TRADE AND OUR DESIRE TO DEAL WITH A STRONG EUROPEAN DEFENSE GROUPING IN THIS FIELD.

7. BRABAND'S SUGGESTION ON PLANNING IS UNACCEPTABLE; IT IS NOT SIMPLY THAT WE NEED TO PUT ALLIANCE DEFENSE PLANNING ON A LONGER TERM BASIS, BUT RATHER THAT WE NEED A MORE INCISIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE LOOK AT THE PROBLEM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAMS TO DEAL WITH IT.

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DRAFTED BY: EUR/RPM:JHHAWES

APPROVED BY: EUR/RPM:JHHAWES

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O 051909Z MAY 77

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 101938

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 101938 ACTION NATO MAY 04, 1977

QTE C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 101938

HOLD FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, NAC

SUBJECT: NATO SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE: US PROPOSALS

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## Message Attributes

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Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
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22 May 2009  
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